

S. A. LAFONE QUEVEDO

THE GREAT CHANCA CONFEDERACY

AN ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY
SOME OF THE INDIAN NATIONS THAT FORMED IT

TO BE READ BEFORE
THE XVIIIth INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICANISTS
TO BE HELD IN LONDON MAY 1912



BUENOS AIRES
IMPRESA Y CASA EDITORA DE CONI HERMANOS
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THE GREAT CHANCA CONFEDERACY

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I

In my previous paper I came to the following conclusion in reference to the classification of certain Indian stock languages, viz, that in our region of the South American Continent we might marshal them under two principal categories: one which adopts the N sound as its pronominal index of the 1st person; the other, which substitutes this N by an I or Y in exactly the same sense.

I adopt the *Moxo* or *Mojo* language ¹ as the typical example of the N index, and that of the *Guaycurú* group as representative of the I or Y: the former a northern, the latter a southern stock, both at once separating and separated by Guaraní ² in its advance westwards to Peru. This geographical, and consequently ethnic contact, surely accounts for the pronominal affinities so evident in these great linguistic stocks.

Moxo and all the other branches of the *nu-Arawak* family are to be found here and there all over the central part of our South American continent, right down from the Sea of Carib to the Chacos, where it came in contact with the great *Guaycurú* group of nations.

Innumerable as are the different tribes of the great *nu-Arawak* or *Moxo-Maypure* stock nothing is easier than the determination of what is and what is not a dialect of this great family in the South American race: the pronominal scheme and the word for "Water" suffice to settle the point.

¹ *Moxo* or *Mojo*. In Spanish medial *x* sounds like *h* in *house* or *horse*. Out of respect for Marban his orthography is adopted.

² *Guaraní*, represented by the notorious *Chiriguanoes* or *Chiriguaiuas*.

With the same facility we may classify the *Guaycurú* dialects in all grades of their connexion as such: but in this case the key sounds are I or Y instead of N, as indexes of the first person in their pronominal scheme. On the other hand the word for "water" is not as persistent as in *Moro*, etc., thereby shadowing more complex ethnic affinities, and consequently less helpful as regards *a priori* classification.

Here then we have two widely extended linguistic families, *Moro* and *Guaycurú*, even now to be found in the heart of our Continent, which could not but influence the speech of their equally wide-spread neighbours *Guaranís* and *Quechuas*: the *Guaraní* more remotely, as affecting the plural only in its pronominal scheme; the *Quechua* less so since both singular and plural pronouns shew traces of the *Moro* type.

I have already proved ¹ that two or more of our Indian tongues may have identical pronouns and pronominal affixes and yet at the same time widely different vocabularies. Many of these languages, unconsciously as it were, shew the various origin of their pronominal schemes if we take into account the double plural forms of the 1st person, let us call them, one of arrogance, the other of condescension: for instance, when a *Quechua* interlocutor makes use of the word *Ñocanchic* he means "We" and "You" as well; but if he says *Ñocayeu*, then we must understand "We" and not "You": the former is the "inclusive" the latter the "exclusive" form. French *nous autres* is a sort of exclusive "We".

The *Quechua* pronoun *Ñocca* sounded so in Spanish ears, but, if Indians had possessed their own script, that and other such words would have been written in some other way, more or less so, *N-i-occa* ² leaving the I or Y sound quite clear of the N, N being the *Moro* index and I or Y the *Guaycurú* sound for the pronoun Y of the 1st person. As a possessive affix of that person Y alone without any accretion is generally used just as it would be in a *Guaycurú* dialect; whereas the N would remain as a fossil shewing *Moro* affinities. The two plural forms *Ñocanchic* and *Ñocayeu* leave a Y as the index of arrogant "We" ³.

It may be well to notice here that *Quechua* has two words for "water", *unu* of *Moro* type, *yaco* with *Guaycurú* affinities; also that the *u* sound seems to be radical in words meaning "man", "people", plural endings, etc. I claim this as another proof of the *Moro-Guaycurú* strain in *Quechua* speech.

The identity of *Quechua* and *Guaycurú* is not confined to pronouns of

¹ See my first paper.

² *Ñocca* = *N-i-occa* = *Moro* N + *Guaycurú* i + demonstrative suffixed particles.

³ *Ñocanchic*. The suffix *chie* is only a demonstrative forming a plural ending to a general "We". The infix Y in *Ñocayeu* particularizes this "We".

the 1st person only, for *Cam* or *Kam*, "thou" of the former of the two, is quite *Guaycurú* in sound and meaning; whilst *N* of third person, as a strengthening particle and also as a demonstrative pronoun, is likewise common to both languages.

There are some other lexical proofs which might be mentioned, but I confine myself to the pronouns, as my argument mainly depends on them, and there is neither space nor time to go farther afield.

Let us consider Cuzco as the "navel"¹ of our western South-American world, linguistically, ethnically, politically and historically, in fact the Rome of our half of the continent, and we so secure a centre round which have been produced most of the great events in our part of the world's history. Monarchies and empires have risen and have fallen, Cuzco has been the goal of eventful migrations, it has been in turns the conqueror and the conquered. Cuzco was the heiress, if not the rival chronologically, of the famous Tiahuanaco and Pachacamac cultures, whose marvellous remains in spite of ruthless destruction and desecration in all ages still shew remnants of a great past.

Not all the ruin that we notice may be laid at the door of the Spanish conquerors; barbarous Indian hordes in countless numbers had more than once preceded them in the work of devastation; much blame attaches to treasure seekers in all ages and to archaeological explorations in our own, and even time itself by simple lapse may have wrought much harm. Doctor Max Uhle, Peru's Schliemann, has shewn us in his "Pachacamac", the chronological succession of various cultures, so that we may presume to say that our America has its own Ilion, etc. Tiahuanaco has yet to exhume its hidden treasures and secrets, and ever so many other ruined cities must have left much for us to find out buried in their heaps of rubbish: one and all bear testimony to the truth of facts contained in Montesinos Work², viz. that numerous hordes entered Peru in the course of ages, some as settlers others as subverters of the established monarchy: all may not be true, much may have been added, accidentally or of purpose, to the current traditions and accounts as contained in the *quipus* preserved in the archives; but this fact stands out pretty well self evident: peaceful immigrants and devastating hordes, the former possibly driven on by the latter, had settled in the land,

¹ See Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's, *Royal Comm.* Index in voce Cuzco, Ombligo.

² See p. 17, 64, 76, 79, etc., especially the last named in FERNANDO MONTESINOS, *Memorias antiguas del Perú*, Madrid, 1882. In p. 76 we find that fugitives escaping from men of great stature settled peacefully in the land of Peru; and in p. 79 he mentions "hordes of furious barbarians" who entered by way of the Antis, Brazil and the Carib Main Land (*Tierra Firme*) and brought about the ruin of the old Peruvian monarchy and its empire.

some of them of the N, others of the I or Y stock, all of which have left their mark on that spoken language to which we give the name of *Quechua*, and they themselves call *Runa-Simi*, "the speech of Man"; the N stock more or less of *Moro*, the I or Y of *Guaycurú* origin.

Table I contains a comparison of pronouns and certain words belonging to the two principal N stocks in what was once the Vice-Royalty of the River Plate, viz. *Moro* and *Guaná* or *Chané-Chaná*, even now to be found from the frontiers of Peru eastwards as far as the region of Corumbá in Brazil. This *Chané* or *Chaná* is most important for my present purpose. The Table itself needs little or no comment; the pronouns and words included suffice to prove identity. When the Spaniards first entered their country these *Chané* or *Chaná* Indians were a very much better known ethnic stock than they are at present, as we may see by Schmidel's account of them ¹.

Table II is the companion of Table I, and serves to shew how intimately the *Toba*, *Mocorí*, *Mbayá* and *Abipón* tongues are related to each other, though perfectly distinct dialects of the self-same stock; also interesting for us because of their linguistic and other connection with the Quichua group, as well as because of that curious alliance of the *Mbayá-Guaycurú* with the *Chané-Chaná* Indians. (Table III explains itself).

Since the Spaniards set foot in the land these *Chané-Chaná* or *Guaná* Indians have been the allies, comrades or serfs of the *Mbayás* and most probably of many other nations more warlike than themselves.

II

LOS CHANCAS

Garcilaso de la Vega, the Inca historian, tells us that the Chancas were Indians of the Peruvian empire. His own words are: "Under the name of *Chanca* ² are included many other nations, to wit, *Huancu huallo*, *Utunsulla*, *Uillea* and others, who pride them selves on descending from various ancestors, some from a water source, some from a lake or hill, and their deity was their father, to whom they offered sacrifice. *The ancestors of these nations had come from afar and had conquered many provinces, until they reached that in which they then dwelt, viz, that of Antahuayllas; and this they conquered by force of arms; they also cast*

¹ See Ulrich Schmidel, *Voyage to the River Plate*, Chap. XLV.

² *Chancas*, See GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, *Comentarios reales*, lib. IV, cap. XV.

out the ancient inhabitants and next cornered and oppressed the *Quechua* Indians in their own Province, snatching from them many lands, obliging them to pay tribute and treating them right tyrannously. Many other famous deeds did they accomplish of which their descendants are very proud.”

For a further account of the wars of the Incas with these *Chanca* nations I refer my hearers to sir Clements Markham's excellent work *The Incas of Peru*, p. 83-89, 161, 174, 178 and 198.

In Book V, chap. XXVI, Garcilaso tells us how the *Chanca* confederates, after their submission to the superior prowess of their enemies the *Quechua* or Inca Indians, determined on flight to free themselves from the Cuzco yoke. “So minded”, says the Inca historian, “they neared the great mountains of the *Antis*, meaning to pass right through them and to settle wherever they might discover a suitable spot, as we are told they did by their fellow-countrymen, at a distance of 200 leagues from their own land”¹.

If we may place reliance on the Inca Garcilaso's account of this migration, we have two certain facts: one that the *Chanca* confederates “neared the *Antis*”, and the other, that they reached a place 200 leagues distant from their own country, say $11\frac{1}{2}$ degrees or $17\frac{1}{2}$ leagues to the degree.

Antisuyu or Anti is the region to the east of Cuzco, any turning to the right, and at 200 leagues distance from Andahuayllas, would convey the *Chanca* Indians to the sources of and down the river Pilcomayo, between the 20° and 21° of South Lat., more or less the land inhabited by *Chané-Chaná* or *Guaná* Indians visited by Schmidel² in the XVIth, and by Sanchez Labrador in the XVIIth centuries³.

III

CHANCA AND CHANÉ-CHANÁ OR GUANÁ INDIANS

Father Sanchez Labrador, S. J. (1767) says of his *Chaná* Indians that they were better known by the name of *Guanás*; he goes on to tell us that they call themselves *Chanás*, a name under which are included all

¹ Andahuayllas.

² SCHMIDEL, *Voyage to the River Plate*, chap. XLV, in which he mentions “Zchen nes” and Mbayás.

³ *Paraguay Católico*, vol. II, p. 255.

their tribes; he also identifies the *Chanás* with the well known *Chanés*, who accompanied the ill fated Juan de Ayolas in his expedition to Peru (1536), that in which he lost his life. It was a *Chané* lad, the only, survivor of the massacre, who a few years later informed the Spaniards of Paragnay how and where Ayolas and his companions had met their doom.

Ulrich Schmidel in his account already referred to calls these Indians *Zehenné* and speaks of them at some length as friends, vassals or serfs of the *Mbayá* nation, Indians of a *Guaycurú* stock, whereas the *Chané-Guanús* were as certainly a *Moxo* tribe or nation. Father J. Camagno in his excellent map ¹ places these Indians between the 20th and 22^d parallels of S. Lat.

Table I, shews how linguistically identical are the *Chané-Chaná* or *Guaná* and the *Moxo* stocks. If the *Guanús* call themselves *Chanás*, as Sanchez Labrador assures us, the *Moros* own the name of *Achané*, and mean "comrade" when they use the form *Cachané*, the latter reappearing in the same sense as used by Aguirre's *Guanús* ².

The combination *Cachané* "comrade" is a very suggestive one. *Moxo* is a prefixing language, *Quechua* on the contrary suffixes its particles, of which *Ca* is equivalent to English "the"; we easily come then to the conclusion that *Moxo*, *Cachané*, and *Quechua*, *Chancca* or *Chanaca*, are identical. *Chanca* is the natural syncopated form of *Chanaca*, as *Chuera* is of *Chácara*, a maize field.

Montesinos refers to invading hordes which arrived in Peru as coming from the Carib Main Land, Brazil and Tucuman ³, and we certainly find on the confines of Peru representatives of the *nu-Aricaks* (*Moxo-Guanús*), of the *Brazilians* (Chiriguanas), of the *Tucumans* (*Guaycurús*); and as both Garcilaso de la Vega in the XVI and Sanchez Labrador in the XVIII centuries refer to *Chanca* ⁴ as an adopted general name, including many different ethnic stocks, we may safely fix upon *Moxo-Guaná-Chaná* and *Guaycurú* Indians as the immigrants who grabbed portions of the *Quechua* realm under the general name of *Chanecas*, as *Chaná-Guanús*

¹ First published in Father Jolis' work on the Chaco and several times since in Buenos Ayres. It is by far the best ethnographic map we have of that region: a copy of same may be seen at the end of this paper.

² It is curious how general this name is throughout the region. As *Guayaná* and *Chaná* we find it all over South Brazil and the Uruguay Republic, and they all have interlinguistic affinities.

³ See note p. 63.

⁴ It may not be beside the mark to call attention to the *Quechua* term — *Yanacona* — "servant" or "nigger", for *Yana* is "black"; but *Yanacona* in vulgar speech meant "servants" or "carriers".

first and later on as allies or serfs of invading *Guaycurú* hordes, who mastered both *Quechuas* and *Chancas*, and when at last the latter were worsted by the former both *Chancas* and *Guaycurús* fled for freedom and independence to the hunting grounds of the Chaco, but left behind them as a linguistic inheritance in the *Runa-Simi* of the *Quechua* nation their own pronominal schemes more or less mixed up. The *Chancas* were one of the many confederacies out of which was hewed the Peruvian empire of the Incas, and the persistent friendship of *Mbayás* and *Chaná-Guanás* must have started in one of these alliances.

Mr. Hunt's ¹ "Lenguas" or *Mascocoy* Indians may have formed part of this confederacy as they are *Orejones* ² and as such perhaps connected with those very Indians by whom the "stolen prince" was rescued and later on restored to his Inca father ³; as a reward they were raised to the rank of Peruvian *Orejones* or princes of the blood royal. The *Abipón* nation, another branch of the *Guaycurú* stock also claimed nobility for their head men and also addressed them in modified language.

According to Garcilaso the Incas once had a speech of their own: *Quechua* has many traces of *Chaná* and *Guaycurú* in its grammar and even vocabulary; *Chancas* and some of their confederates fled to the Chaco to escape from the Inca yoke; on the other hand in the Chaco region we now find Indians calling themselves *Chanás* or *Guanás* in close contact with *Mbayá* (*Guaycurú*) and with *Orejón* tribes ⁴ and not too far away geographically: these disk earrings were a mark of nobility in the Inca realm. All these are self evident facts which argue in favour of close ethnic, linguistic and geographic contact at some time or other in Peruvian history. Are we not then justified in counting these Chaco tribes or nations as representatives of the great *Chanca* confederacy. Indians who preferred exile to loss of freedom?

Mr. Hunt assures me that his "Lengua" *Orejones* claim to have lived formerly in the highlands, and some of the *Toba* tribes are cornered up near the sources of the Pilcomayo river, to the west of the *Chaná-Guaná* ⁵ Indians ⁶.

I once thought that the *Chancas* might be one or more tribes of the *Guaycurú* nation, under the impression that the name of *Chancas* was a

¹ The English missionary in the Chaco.

² *Orejones* — Indians with pierced ears, who wear disks as earrings.

³ See Markam's, *The Incas of Perú*, Ch. VI.

⁴ Hunt's *Lengua-Mascocoy* tribes or nation.

Lengua Mascocoy Indians are now sometimes also called *Guaná*, why I cannot say: but they must not be confounded with Sanchez Labrador's *Guanás* of *Chaná* stock.

⁶ Comrades of the *Mbayás*. See map at the end of this paper.

Quechua word signifying "legs", given to them because they had them longer as a rule than is usual among people of those highlands, thus accounting also for the presence of certain curious *Quechua* words in some *Guaycurú* dialects and possessive particles in both families of languages. The later discovery¹ of Father Sanchez Labrador's MS. dispelled this view of the case, as he therein asserted that *Guandús*, *Chandús* and *Chanús* were all Indians of the same Indian Stock. The derivation of the *Chanca* name from a form *Chanaca* was a logical conclusion. After all it was simply a change from *Guaycurús* to their friends, allies or serfs, certainly comrades through the ages, the *Chanú* nation of the Chaco.

There is another ethnic fact which some day must be thrashed out. The *Aríak-Maypure-Moro* stock represents in South America the female linguistic element, and the matriarchate, if we choose to regard it from the sociological point of view, that marvellous legend or tradition called by the old world name of "Amazon"². It is to this matriarchate state of political sociology that we must attribute that strange endogamous Inca custom of marriage with a sister to secure purity of royal blood. It does not seem to have been always the rule, but it turns up quite clearly after the last change of dynasty³ before the Spanish invasion: the violation of this custom undoubtedly led to the civil war of succession between Atau-Uallpa and Huascar, so fateful to the Peruvian Empire.

It is not possible in a short paper written with another object in view to go deeper into this most interesting question in early South American ethnography. I submit the point to my learned and good friend doctor Koch-Grünberg, who is even now travelling over and exploring the habitat of the very *uu-Aríak* nations so closely allied linguistically (if not in other directions as well) to our own *Moro-Chanú* tribes or stock.

Before closing this paper I wish to add two very curious lexical coincidences; they may mean nothing, but it is just as likely that they are most significant. The words for to baptize in *Mocoví* and *Abipón*⁴, both *Guaycurú* dialects, are *Ocorarníi* and *Acarig*⁵ respectively. *Hocco*⁶ means

¹ By Father Pablo Hernandez S. J. who has done so much to unearth most valuable documents lost or scattered when the Jesuits were suppressed.

² See Schmidt. *Vayage*, etc. Chap. XXXVII, pp. 218 and 19.

³ The Inca succession is still too confused to fix the reign, let us say it was that of the last *Packacutic*.

⁴ S. A. LAFONE QUEVEDO, *El Mocoví* and *Idioma Abipón*.

⁵ *Acarig* — "baptized", N. B. *Mocoví a* = *Abipón a*.

⁶ *Hocco*: H almost silent; *hoccochi* is the transitive or active form — "to wet" or "moisten".

“wet or moist” or to be so, which becomes an active verb by suffixing the corresponding particles *chi*, etc.

This coincidence might pass unperceived or be considered as a mere casual resemblance were it not for another cognate homophony: *Ycho-coctar-r-ni* in Mocoví and *Ychacaetan* in Abipón mean in each case to confess sins (*o* = *a*). *Ichuchi* in Quichua is — “to confess sins” — after the manner of the Peruvian sorcerers, a word derived from *ichu*, a certain sort of mountain hard grass. How came the words into Christian missionary use in the Chaco ¹ and especially so the second pair? Only a person ignorant of their meaning in the Peruvian ritual could have adopted two such words to signify a Christian rite, may more, so far removed geographically and linguistically from their cradle land.

But it is now time to close this paper and it shall be with certain facts contained in Montesinos History ². To begin with, certain Indian nations, in consequence of fearful convulsions of nature on our continent, sought refuge in the Peruvian table lands ³ and asked permission to settle peacefully there. *Carib* and *Guaraní* tribes would rather have entered as conquerors killing and eating all before them. As milder forerunners of later and fiercer hordes let us call these immigrants Indias of *Maypure* ⁴, *Moro* or *Chaná-Guaná* stock ⁵.

Later, much later on came the great invasion from the N. E., East, and S. E., destroyer of the earlier monarchy, which forced the ruler and such of their people as had escaped from the general catastrophe to take refuge where best they might, in the islands of lake Titicaca or inaccessible mountain fastnesses. These later invaders may very well have been tribes or nations of more or less *Guaycurú* stock.

Time went on and the older culture began to reassert itself, as it did after the fall of the western Roman Empire; *Moro-Chaná* tribes must have entered into alliance with *Guaycurú* conquerors, *vi et armis*, as in the *Aricak-Carib* region, or through friendlier tactics, intermarriage or political alliances and leagues between nations of *Chaná* and *Mbayá-Guaycurú* stocks.

In course of time we have the real Cuzco remnant, with its own peculiar speech, beginning to reassert itself and so influencing the surrounding confederacies: these by and bye, alarmed at the rising power and

¹ One in the XVIIIth, the other in the XIX century, one by a Jesuit, the other by a Franciscan missionary.

² MONTESINOS, work cited, p. 76.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 79: “continuous earthquakes”; also mentions Indian invasions by way of the Collao country and the Antis.

⁴ Indians from farther North.

⁵ Indians of the same stock living more to the South and in the La Plata basin.

ambition of the Cuzco regulus, constituted themselves into those leagues, called *Behetrias*¹, with a right to choose their over-lord and to revolt from or conform to his rule as often as they dared or occasion offered: a constitution this not too pleasing to the Spanish monarchs of that time².

Then was gradually formed that hybrid tongue which we call *Quechua*³, a language with its own vocabulary ingrafting a pronominal scheme in which we can distinguish a *Maggure-Moro-Chanú* strain mixed up in a more or less complex manner with other elements of *Guay-curú* origin.

As the Inca monarchy grew stronger it did what most successful sovereignties do, endeavour to form a nation one in manners, customs, laws, religion and language (etc.); because not to do so is fatal in the end, especially so if the tongues are many: a common speech is a mighty element for consolidating and making nations akin.

Garcilaso de la Vega tells us that when Inca Roca went forth to bring the Chanca nations into closer subjection he challenged them to make themselves "Children of the Sun"⁴, for if not it must be war. The Chanca confederates at once called a council together to discuss the demands of the Peruvian monarch who was at their doors with a mighty army: not all were of one mind. Some said — "that it was but just that they should accept the Inca as their Lord, inasmuch as he was a Child of the Sun". Others again (and these were the Children of the Lion) said — "Nay, for neither is it just that they (the *Chanca* Confederacy) should accept an alien Lord, when they themselves were Lords of so many vassals"⁵.

This brave talk ended in their having to submit, some willingly, probably those of *Chanú* stock; others unwillingly, because of a fiercer and

¹ Clans, tribes or nations with a right to name or elect their over-lord in time of war or other calamity. A good example of this constitution, and its chief, was John of Calchaqui who started the 100 years war in that region. (See LOZANOS, *History of the River Plate and Tucuman*, vols. 4 and 5 passim.) In Spain the word came to mean 'confusion' or 'disorder'.

² The absolute rule of the Spanish kings began with the destruction of the *Behetrias* and, *Communes*.

³ Or as they themselves say: — *Runa-simi* — "speech of men". Among their own kin they would use — *Ñocrauchic* — in presence of Spaniards — *Ñocayen* — "nous autres".

⁴ *Coment. Reales*, B. IV, chap. XV.

⁵ See S. A. LAFONE QUEVEDO, Culto de Tonapa, p. *Revista del Museo de La Plata*, vol. III, p. 230, Ch. XII, " *Chuqui tiyac caní* — I am rich in Curacas." *Chuqui* — stone "axe" or "sceptre", used by them.

more independent origin such as are the Indians of the *Guaycurú* family of nations.

Later on many of these Indians included in the great *Chanca-League* fled to the lowlands, east of their Andahuayllas home, as was explained above in p. and these are some of the Indians represented by the *Chana-Guana-Mbayá* nations of the Northern Chaco and elsewhere.

In the Chaco we do find nations of *Chaná-Guaná* and *Guaycurú* stock living for centuries as half friends and half foes, nations, we repeat it speaking languages which account for many of the anomalies present in the *Quechua* tongue and in their respective pronominal schemes.

I therefore come to this *conclusion* :

That Indians of the two stocks *Chaná-Guaná* and *Guaycurú-Mbayá* were among the chief of the nations which formed the *Chanca Confederacy* or *League*. That they entered the Peruvian realm, some as settlers others as conquerors in early times, and that not very long before the Spanish invasion they fled to the Chaco where we in later times find them, carrying with them in their spoken language proofs of their previous ethnic and linguistic connexion with the later *Quechuas* of the Peruvian Highlands.

Father P. Marbán, S. J. (1701); the
and E. Peña (ex Aguirre); and the Ki-
o Boggiani, are Indians of the same
s nu-Arwak or Moxo-Maypure.

Guaná			
Peña (ex Aguirre)		(Guido Boggiani)	
Pronouns	Possessive prefixes	Pronouns	Possessive prefixes
ndi.		Undi.	Ondi.
ti.		Iiti.	Iti ³ .
aa.			
oti.			
cinoc.			

	Kinikinao (Guido)	Terena (Boggiani)
i).	Wo-u. Yivi or Géve Güiri. Baahó.	Uo u. Yvi or Yevé. Güiri.
oi).	Tiôti. Iuunquê. Oê.	Tiôti.
).	Ejipe.	Quinó. Yipó.
	U nné. Hôién. [Chanena, Peña]. Seeno. Cagé. Cohhieé. [Paqueé, Peña]. [Yocó, id]. Nicaoti.	U nné. Oienó. Seenó. Cacché. Cohheé. Iuccú (both). Ning aotti.

³ D'Escragnolle.

Table to prove that the Moxos of Father P. Marbán, S. J. (1701); the Guanas of Martius (ex Castellano) and E. Peña (ex Aguirre); and the Kinikinaos with the Terenas of Guido Boggiani, are Indians of the same linguistic stock, viz, that known as nu-Arwak or Moxo-Maypure.

Moxo (Father P. Marbán, S. J.)		Guaná			
		Peña (ex Aguirre)		(Guido Boggiani)	
Pronouns	Possessive prefixes	Pronouns	Possessive prefixes	Pronouns	Possessive prefixes
<i>Sing.</i> 1. I, Nuti.	My, Nu.	Undi.		Undi.	Ondi.
2. Thou, Piti.	Thy, Pi.	Yiti.		Iti.	Iti ² .
3. He, Ema ¹ .	His ² , Ma.	Raa.			
3. She, Esu.	Hers, Su.				
<i>Plur.</i> 1. We, Bti.	Our, Bi	Voti.			
2. You, Eti.	Your, E.	Ytinoc.			
3. They, Eno.	Their, Na				

Moxo (Marbán)	Guaná (Castellano)	Kinikinao (Guido)	Terena (Boggiani)
1. Hand, nu-Boupé.	No.	Wo-u.	Uo u.
2. Foot, ni-Bopé.	dja-Héve (<i>é = á</i>).	Yivi or Géve	Yvi or Yevá.
3. Nose, nu-Siri.	a-Gueiri.	Güiri.	Güiri.
4. Mouth, nu-Pahó.	Baapó (<i>Lip.</i>).	Baahó.	
5. Head, nu-Chuti.	Kombépoa (<i>oa = oi</i>).	Tiôti.	Tiôti
6. Eye, nu-Uqui.	on-Guei.	Iuunqué.	
7. Tooth, nu-Oe.	on-Hé (<i>é = ai</i>).	Oé.	
8. Hearing, nu-Quñá.	Ouéhéno (<i>é = ai</i>).		Quinó.
9. Nail, nu-Hipoñó.		Ejipe.	Yipó.
10. Finger, nu-Bouqui.			
11. Toe, ni-Boqui.			
12. Water, Une.	Huna (<i>u = ou</i>).	U nné.	U nné.
13. Man, Achané.	(Viri) Tahanan	Hóien	Oienó.
14. Comrade, nu-Cachane.		[Chanena, <i>Peña</i>].	
15. Woman, Eseno.	Zeeno.	Seeno.	Seenó.
16. Sun, Saaché.	Kat-hé (<i>é = ai</i>).	Cagé.	Cacché.
17. Moon, Cohé.		Cohhié.	Cohheé.
18. Ground, Epoquié.		[Paquéé, <i>Peña</i>].	
19. Fire, Iucu.		[Yocó, <i>id</i>].	Iuccá (<i>both</i>).
20. Tongue, nu-Nenê.	Nahéné (<i>é = ai</i>).		
21. Eat, nu-Nico.		Nicaoti.	Ning aotti.

¹ Si ella dice *él* es Eñi. ² Si es ella que lo usa será Ñi. ³ D'Esoragnolle.

**coví, Mbayá and Abipón, the four principal dialects
de tipo Guaycurú y Chiquito comparadas »)**

Mocoví (Tavolini, 1850)	Mbayá (S. Labrador, 1750)	Abipón (Dobr. y Brign., 1750)
U L A R		
ami.	E (rar.) ; Eo, Eom (muj.).	Aym.
á, ése parado.	Acami (rar.) ; Am, Ami (muj.).	Akami.
	Teda, por él.	Erá, parado.
	Ata.	Hiriha, acostado.
, acostado.	Iti, mostrando.	Iri, él acostado.
	Ani, éste, ésta, etc.	Ini, él sentado.
, sentado.	Ini, íd.	Iñi, él que.
a, á ése parado.	Ina, éste.	Enajá, éste.
i, él.	Iyo, él y ella.	
, aquél.	Ayo, ése, ésa, m. y f.	
	Icoate, éste.	Ecá, la Ca ^{mo} Brign.
am, de él.	Eledi, otro, otra.	Eká, él ausente.
	Taló, para él.	Elá, ello.
	Aló.	Lelá, ello de él. Dobriz.
moriéndose.		Ehahá, risto que anda.
		Echá, él andando.
R A L		
or.m.	Ocó.	Akâm'.
ami.r.	Acami ó Am-diguayi.	Akamyi.
oá, ésos.		Eroujá.
	Aniguaté.	
oá, de ésas.	Inoba, éstos.	
	Inigúa.	Enoujá, éstos.
oá, ésos.	Iyodiguayi.	
á.	Icobate, pl. m. y fem.	
	Eletidipi, otros.	
á, aquellos moriéndose.		

Table of Pronouns and their Particles in Toba, Mocoví, Mbayá and Abipón, the four principal dialects of the Guaycurú stock — (Ex « Las lenguas de tipo Guaycurú y Chiquito comparadas »)

Castellano	Toba (Ducci, 1909)	Toba (Bárcena, 1639)	Mocoví (Tavolani, 1830)	Mbayá (S. Labrador, 1750)	Abipón (Dobó y Brign., 1750)
			SINGULAR		
Yo.	Ayem.	Ayen (Ayen).	Aim.	E (var.); Eo, Eom (unij.).	Aym.
Tú.	Am	Ahan (Ham, Am).	Accami.	Acami (var.); Am, Ami (unij.).	Akami
Él.	Edá, <i>parado</i> .	Edá (Hedago), Edasó, <i>aquel parado</i> .	Eddá, <i>ese parado</i> .	Teda, <i>por él</i> .	Erá, <i>parado</i> .
Ella.	Adá, <i>id.</i> Dedá, Yddii, <i>este echado</i> . Adii, <i>esta id.</i>		Iddi, <i>acostado</i> .	Ata. Iti, <i>mostrando</i> .	Hiriha, <i>acostado</i> . Iri, <i>el acostado</i> .
				Ani, <i>éste, ésta, etc.</i> Ini, <i>id.</i>	Ini, <i>el sentado</i> . Ini, <i>el que</i> .
Éste, <i>aquel ese</i> .	Ini ó Iño, <i>el ese sentado</i> . Añi, <i>ella id.</i> Enna, <i>que viene</i> . Anna, <i>ella id.</i>	Ennasó, <i>éste</i> .	Inni, <i>sentado</i> . Enna, <i>ó ese parado</i> .	Ina, <i>éste</i> .	Enajá, <i>este</i> .
Ése.			Ynni, <i>el</i> .	Iyo, <i>el y ella</i> . Ayo, <i>ése, esa, m. y f.</i> Icoate, <i>éste</i> .	
Él.	Eccá, <i>que no se ve</i> .	Hico (go), <i>aquel caminando</i> .	Eccá, <i>aquel</i> .		Ecá, <i>la Curva Brigu</i> .
Ella.	Accá, <i>id.</i>				Eká, <i>el ausente</i> . Elá, <i>ella</i> . Lelá, <i>ella de él. Dabriz</i> .
Él ó ella.		Halám.	Al-lam, <i>de él</i> .	Eledi, <i>otra, otra</i> . Taló, <i>para él</i> . Aló.	Ehahá, <i>visto que anda</i> . Echá, <i>el andando</i> .
Éste, <i>aquel ese</i> .	Esó, <i>éste que se ve</i> . Asó, <i>esta id.</i>	Esesonay, <i>aquel caminando</i> .	Eso, <i>muriéndose</i> .		
			PLURAL		
Nosotros.	Comi.	Comi.	Occo-m.	Ocó.	Akám.
Vosotros.	Cami (Cami, Jolis, 1750).	Cami.	Accami.	Acami ó Am-diguayi.	Akamyi.
Ellos.	Edavá.	Edevá.	Eddóá, <i>asos</i> .		Eroujá.
Ellas.	Dedavá. Davá Iddivá.				
				Anignate. Inoba, <i>éstos</i> . Inigúa. Iyodignayi. Icobate, <i>pl. m. y fem.</i> Eletidipi, <i>otros</i> .	Enoujá, <i>éstos</i> .
	Iñivá. Ennevá	Mnavasó, <i>éstos: isti</i> .	Ennoá, <i>de esos</i> . Yyyoá, <i>esos</i> . Eccuá.		
	Eccavá.				
	Esová.		Essóá, <i>aquellas muriéndose</i> .		

continuación)

Lenguas de tipo Guaycurú y Chiquito comparadas »)

n personal en los cuatro idiomas

Toba (Dueci, 1900)	Toba (Bárcena, 1600)	Mocoví (Tavolini, 1850)	Mbayá (Sánchez Labrador, 1767)	Abipón (Dobriz, y Brigniel, 1750)
Prefijos de conjugación (singular)				
S. An. Ñi.	S (i).	S ó As, ó Es, Ys, Ni ó Ñ. Di. Ldi, Y. Ey.	Ya, Y.	A. E ó Y. Aja ó Ej. Ñi. Ri. Gri. Li.
A. An. Au. Co.	Av (e).	O. Cad. <i>prefijos con su- fijo i; refuerzos E. Yi. D. N. Ld. sin A pero con sufijo i.</i>	A, Cad, Ad.	A. E. <i>iniciales con sufijo i; refuerzos Y. N. Gr. L. etc., prefija- dos, sin A pero con sufijo i.</i>
Y, D (e). H. N.	D (e).	D, E ó Y, N, L. El.	Ete, L.	Gr ó Y, ó Ey. N. R. L.
Prefijos de conjugación (plural)				
S. Can. Co. Ñi.	S (i).	S ó As ó Es, Ys, Ni ó Ñ. Ard. Cod.	Ya-aga. Cod- aga.	A. E ó Y. Aja ó Ej. Ni. Ri ó Gr. Li.
Ca. Can. Cau. Co, con i fi- nal.	Cau con i ó e final.	O. Ar. Cad. <i>prefijos con sufijo i i; refuerzos iniciales D, N, Y, con sufijo i i.</i>	A - diguayi. Cad, etc.	A. E. <i>iniciales con sufi- jo i; refuerzos Y. N. R. Gr. L. etc., prefija- dos sin A pero con sufijo i i.</i>
Y. N. D (e). H.	D (e).	Y, E. Ey. N. D. El.	Ete diguayi. L, etc.	Gr ó Y, ó Ey. N. R. L.

Possessive Prefixes in four Guaycurú Dialects (ex «Lenguas de tipo Guaycurú y Chiquito comparadas»)

Cuadro de partículas de relación personal en los cuatro idiomas

Toba (Ducci, 1909)	Toba (Bárcena, 1909)	Mocoví (Tavolani, 1850)	Mbayá (Sanchez Labrador, 1767)	Achpon (Dobriz, y Brigniel, 1750)	Toba (Ducci, 1909)	Toba (Bárcena, 1909)	Mocoví (Tavolani, 1850)	Mbayá (Sanchez Labrador, 1767)	Achpon (Dobriz, y Brigniel, 1750)
Prefijos de posesivación (singular)					Prefijos de conjugación (singular)				
Y ó I, Ñ.	I, Ya, Y. Ni, Ñ.	I, Y, Ñ, Ni, N, Yñ, Il. Li, Di, Ydi, R.	Y ó Yn.	Y, Il, Ni, Gri, Li.	S, Au, Ñi.	S (i).	S «As, a Es, Ys, Ni ó Ñ, Di, Ldi, Y, Ey.	Ya, Y.	A, E a Y, Aja ó Ej. Ñi, Ri, Gri, Li.
A, An, Anad, Ado.	Ada, Ad (ó), Ad, A, An.	A, Da, Ca, Cad, <i>prefi- jos con i sufijo. Cual- quier refuerzo inicial</i> D, C, N, L, Rd, Gr, <i>etc. sin A pero con su- fijo i.</i>	Ca, Can ó Cad	Ar, Cach, <i>prefijos con sufijo i. Refuerzos</i> Gr, F, Gn ó Guen, L ó Gl, <i>etc., iniciales sin A pero con sufijo i.</i>	A, An, Au. Co.	Av (e).	O. Cad. <i>prefijos con su- fijo i; refuerzos</i> E, Yi, D, N, Ld, <i>sin A pero con sufijo i.</i>	A, Cad, Ad.	A, E, <i>iniciales con sufijo i; refuerzos</i> Y, N, Gr, L, <i>etc., prefija- dos, sin A pero con sufijo i.</i>
L, N.	L, N.	L, N, D, R, <i>prefijos; T, C ó K sufijos de mas- cul. E prefijo de ul. Do, E y Asse sufijos de fem. A prefijo de femenino.</i>	L ó N.	L, Il ó El, Yl, N, Gr.	Y, D (e), H. N	D (e).	D, E ó Y, N, L, El.	Ete, L.	Gr ó Y, ó Ey, N, R, L.
Prefijos de posesivación (plural)					Prefijos de conjugación (plural)				
Co, Ca, Cad. Can.	Co, Cal, Cad Can.	Ard, Co, Cod, Ar, Arn, Arl, Rd, Ydiord, Gr.	Co, Con ó Cod.	Gr, Ar, Guen.	S, Can, Co, Ñi	S (i).	S ó As ó Es, Ys, Ni ó Ñ, Ard, Cod.	Ya-aga, Cod- aga.	A, E ó Y, Aja ó Ej, Ni. Ri ó Gr, Li.
Ca, Cad, con E ó I final.	Ca, Cad.	Ard, Ca, Can Ar, Arn, Arl, <i>con sufijo i ó ii; refuerzos iniciales</i> Rd, Yd, Gr <i>sin A pero con sufijo i.</i>	Ca, Can ó Cad, diguayi.	Ar <i>inicial con sufijo i i; refuerzos prefijados</i> Gr, Guen, <i>etc., sin A pero con i i finales.</i>	Ca, Can, Cau. Co, con i fi- nal.	Cau con i ó e final.	O, Ar, Cad, <i>prefijos con sufijo i i; refuerzos iniciales</i> D, N, Y, <i>con sufijo i i.</i>	A - diguayi. Cad, <i>etc.</i>	A, E, <i>iniciales con sufi- jo i; refuerzos</i> Y, N, R, Gr, L, <i>etc., prefij- ados sin A pero con sufijo i i.</i>
L con a, e, i, o. u, ó sin ellas.	L.	L, N, D, R, E y Asse, <i>sufijos de ambos géne- ros en plural.</i>	L, N, diguayi.	L, Il ó El, N, Gr.	Y, N, D (e), H.	D (e).	Y, E, Ey, N, D, El	Ete diguayi, L, <i>etc.</i>	Gr ó Y, ó Ey, N, R, L.

Comparative pronominal table of Moxo, Quechua and Toba

Moxo	Quechua	Toba
<i>Sing.</i> 1. Nu-ti, <i>ego</i> . 2. Pi-ti, <i>tu</i> . 3. e-Ma, <i>illi</i> . 3. e-Ñi, <i>ille (dicit illa)</i> . 3. e-Su, <i>illa</i> . <i>Plur.</i> 1. Bi-ti, <i>Nos</i> . 2. E-ti, <i>vos</i> . 3. e-No, <i>illi et illae</i> . 3. po-No-ni. Pron. praeff. poss.	Ñocca, <i>ego</i> . Ccam, <i>tu</i> . Pay, <i>ille, etc.</i> Ñoccaycu, <i>nos, etc., (excl.)</i> . Ñoccanchik, <i>nos, etc., (incl.)</i> . Ccamchik, <i>vos, etc.</i> Paycuna, <i>illi id.</i> Pron. suff. poss.	A-y-em, <i>ego</i> . Am <i>vel</i> Ham, <i>tu</i> . Da, <i>etc., ille</i> . Comi, <i>nos</i> . Cami, <i>vos</i> . Davá, <i>illi, etc.</i> Praef. pron
<i>Sing.</i> 1. Nu, <i>meus, etc.</i> 2. Pi, <i>tuus, etc.</i> 3. Ma, <i>suus (ille dicit)</i> . 3. Ñi, <i>suus (illa dicit)</i> . 3. Su, <i>sua</i> . <i>Plur.</i> 1. Bi, <i>noster, etc.</i> 2. E, <i>vester, etc.</i> 3. Na, <i>illorum (hominum)</i> . 3. Ta, <i>id. (animalium)</i> . Praef. verb.	Y, <i>meus, etc.</i> Yki, <i>tuus, etc.</i> N, <i>Suus, etc.</i> Ycu, <i>noster (excl.)</i> . nchik, <i>noster (incl.)</i> . Ykichik, <i>vester, etc.</i> ncu, <i>illorum, etc.</i> Suff. verb.	I, <i>vel</i> Y, <i>vel</i> Ñ, <i>meus, etc.</i> A, <i>vel</i> : Au, <i>tuus</i> . L, <i>vel</i> N. Co, ca, cad, can. Ca, <i>vel</i> ; Cad, <i>cum suff-i</i> . L, <i>vel</i> N. Praef. verb.
<i>Sing.</i> 1. Nu. 2. Pi. 3. Ti. <i>Plur.</i> 1. Bi. 2. E. 3. Ti.	n-y. n-ki. n. y cu <i>(excl.)</i> . n-chik <i>(incl.)</i> . n-kichik. ncu.	S, Ñ, I- <i>vel</i> Y. A, <i>vel</i> Au. Y, <i>vel</i> N. Sa, <i>vel</i> Ñi. Cau, <i>vel</i> : Can <i>cum suff-i</i> . Ya.

Key to the Table N° III

Moro. — The real index of 1st person is Nu or Ni with one or more demonstrative explosives added on as final particles, as for instance *-li* in this, *-li* or *-tze* in the *Mbare* dialect, in which Ni seems to be the only root sound.

The 2d person has Pi as the index in *Moro*, as it has in *Mbare*; but the latter has N and P alone respectively for its 1st and 2d possessive prefixes.

In the 3d person the indexes are peculiar and preceded by a seemingly euphonic prefix *e*. "He" as said by a woman is interesting — Ni — and may lead to important results. Mr. Hunt suggests that the N nouns and verbs in *Gungurú* dialects may signify a woman's speech element. He was unaware of this Ni particle meaning "He" as said by a female. The particles of this person, other than the 3 first are evidently Na, No, Ni, Po, Ta, Ti, and Ne, Re (*mauc.*) *rel* Bi (*fem.*) in *Mbare*.

Plurals of the 1st and 2d person are anonymous. *Mbare* prefixes Ab-, Y-, or Ab-, E-, where *Moro* uses Bi- and E-, respectively.

Quechua. — 1st person Nocca is the Spanish way of writing *nagual N + i*; the *i* or *y* involved in this sound comes out very clearly in the suffixed *i* or *y*, "my", etc. The epenthetic or infixed *a* in verbs is a redundant sound common to both *Quechua* and *Gungurú* in their possessive and verbal declensions. In *Quechua* epenthetic *a* has nothing to do with *caudal* as this *a* and its following *i* are both of the 1st person.

In the 2d person the *ti* is the root sound, proved by the verbal ending *a-ti*; which shows us that the *y* an *a* in each case are infixes of the 3d person and used simply as demonstratives to make up a complete particle. It may be well to mention that *e* or *k* were changing to *p* sounds when the Spaniards entered the country and it is possible that the usual *vice versa* degeneration likewise took place, in which case the *ti* suffix must have sounded *pi* before.

Pay — "he" — contains two sounds of very general value as pronouns of the 3d person, the *p* outside of our present needs, *y* or *e* in all 3 tongues, *Moro*, *Quechua* and *Toba*. In *Moro* as the suffix *i* in *ti* and also in the *ye* suffixed to all the pronouns in *Mbare*, thus, *Ni-ti-ye*, etc., right through all the 3 persons, singular and plural. In *Gungurú* it is the regular verbal personal prefix of the 3d person.

We now come to the 1st person plural with its two forms *exclusive* and *inclusive*, each in reference to the person addressed as entering into the two ideas of "we": "we", "not you"; "we", "and you". The exclusive form accentuates the value of *y* or *i* as index of the 1st person in a very absolute manner as a selective particle: its suffix of plurality is that of the 3d *en*. The second or *inclusive* form simple suffixes 3 demonstrative particles *a*, *chi* (= *ti*) and *k* or *e* in this order. This final *k* or *e* becomes a sibilant in Argentine *Quechua* speech.

The 2d person plural simply adds a final *chik* to the singular term, as does the 1st, but without epenthetic *a* as a possessive particle, though it reappears in the verbal ending. The *chi* = *i* is a very general emphatic particle in all 3 languages and most apt for pluralizing. In *Quechua* it seems to mean "another".

N is the suffix of the 3d person in nouns and verbal endings, make plural with a final *en* particle, as in the 1st person, exclusive form. The use *chi* + *k* or *e* in 1st and 2d persons and *en* in the 3d is only one more example of the anomalous grammatical forms so often observed in pronouns and always with a something obsolete about them, very natural in parts of speech which are the most likely to represent fossil linguistic remains, if such may be allowed to exist.

As it happens this *Ti*, equivalent of *chi*, is to be met with in all languages in this region which are possibly of more or less *Chani* stock, and nowhere more remarkably so, than just among those Indians of the River Plate which were and are known by the name of *Chani*, in the islands and main land of our great Delta.

N° III

Comparative pronominal table of Moxo, Quechua and Toba

Moxo	Quechua	Toba
<i>Sing.</i> 1. Nu-ti, ego. 2. Pi-ti, tu. 3. e-Ma, illi. 3. e-Ni, illi (<i>dicat illa</i>). 3. e-Su, illa.	Nocca, ego. Ccam, tu. Pay, illi, etc.	A-y-em, ego. Am <i>vel</i> Ham, tu. Da, etc., illi.
<i>Plur.</i> 1. Bi-ti, Nos. 2. E-ti, vos. 3. e-No, illi <i>et illac</i> . 3. po-No-ni.	Nocca, cu, nos, etc., (<i>excl.</i>). Noccanchik, nos, etc., (<i>incl.</i>). Ccamchik, vos, etc. Paysuna, illi <i>il</i> .	Comi, nos. Cami, vos. Davá, illi, etc.
Pron. praeff. poss.	Pron. suff. poss.	Praef. pron
<i>Sing.</i> 1. Nu, meus, etc. 2. Pi, tuus, etc. 3. Ma, suus (<i>ille dicit</i>). 3. Ni, suus (<i>illa dicit</i>). 3. Su, sua.	Y, meus, etc. Yki, tuus, etc. N, suus, etc.	I, <i>rel</i> Y, <i>vel</i> N, meus, etc. A, <i>rel</i> ; Au, tuus. L, <i>rel</i> N.
<i>Plur.</i> 1. Bi, noster, etc. 2. E, vester, etc.	Ycu, noster (<i>excl.</i>). nchik, noster (<i>incl.</i>). Ykichik, vester, etc. ncu, illorum, etc.	Co, ca, cad, can. Ca, <i>rel</i> ; Cad, cum <i>suff-i</i> . L, <i>rel</i> N.
3. Na, illorum (<i>humanum</i>). 3. Ta, id, (<i>animalium</i>).		
Praef. verb.	Suff. verb.	Praef. verb.
<i>Sing.</i> 1. Nu. 2. Pi. 3. Ti.	n-y. n-ki. n.	S, N, I- <i>rel</i> Y. A, <i>rel</i> Au. Y, <i>rel</i> N.
<i>Plur.</i> 1. Bi. 2. E. 3. Ti.	y cu (<i>excl.</i>). n-chik (<i>incl.</i>). n-kichik. ncu.	Sa, <i>rel</i> Ni. Cau, <i>rel</i> ; Can cum <i>suff-i</i> . Ya.



